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# The INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER



*Official Magazine*

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS · CHAUFFEURS · WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS OF AMERICA

## The First Phase of Inflation

WHILE hourly wage rates are increasing, weekly wages are declining, according to a report from the National Industrial Conference Board covering 25 manufacturing industries.

In spite of an increase of 65.7 per cent in hourly wage rates since 1939, weekly earnings in July, 1946, were 2.9 per cent less than for the same month last year.

But that doesn't tell the story. Actually, weekly wages were much lower because of the high cost of living. The figures of the National Industrial Conference Board show that "real weekly earnings" decreased 9.3 per cent during the year ending last July.

This means that workers were earning 9.3 per cent less in July of 1946 than they were in July of 1945, because the money they earned would not buy as much.

Therefore, no matter what their pay envelope contained in July of 1946, it was actually 9.3 per cent less than a year previous.

That is the first phase of inflation. The figures show that it cannot be corrected by merely getting more money. It failed by a margin of 9.3 per cent as of last July. And by next July, if the present trend continues, your purchasing power may be down 25 or 50 per cent, no matter how high your wages have risen.

The remedy is not in more dollars but in more valuable dollars. The value of a dollar is reflected in what it will buy.

The purpose of price controls and government subsidies is to keep the cost of living down. That increases the value of your dollar. You can buy more with it.

The constant weakening of price controls since the end of the war has correspondingly weakened the value of your wage dollar.

Every time you got a pay raise, prices went up. And they went up further than your income. Thus each wage increase put you further in the hole.

And each wage increase will put you still further in the hole from now on unless the cost of living is controlled.

It is obvious that the government is about to abandon all controls, made almost futile by the continued sabotage of Congress and industry. That means that the cost of living must now be controlled by the common sense of the public.

Industry has ceaselessly assured us that once free of "regimentation" it would give us a higher standard of living.

Industry now has its chance. If it persists in squeezing exorbitant profits out of the public, it will throw us into a period of wild competition between wages and prices.

That's the second phase of inflation.

The third phase is industrial collapse, unemployment and hunger.

The fourth phase is a New Deal. It was painless under Roosevelt. But Roosevelt is gone.

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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS  
CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

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# Convention Challenges Communism

## 65th National AFL Session Considers World Questions

THE American Federation of Labor held its 65th national convention in Chicago last month, considering not only the welfare of American workers but those of other nations as well.

The convention was given a broad, international flavor by the appearance of many representatives of labor from Europe and South America.

While the convention gave sympathetic consideration to organized labor in all countries, it flatly refused to collaborate with labor in nations where unions are not the free voice of the workers but are controlled by their governments.

The convention emphasized repeatedly throughout its two weeks of deliberation, that the American Federation of Labor is, and will remain, the uncompromising enemy of Communism.

It is dedicated unswervingly to the principle that working men and women have the right to meet freely, speak openly and seek the advancement of themselves without fear of reprisal from any dictator.

Labor in countries controlled by dictators is not free and cannot make decisions without obtaining permission from its government. The AFL delegates were therefore unwilling to affiliate with labor repressed and controlled by dictators.

Such relations would be farcical and in fact harmful by creating the illusion that Communist or Fascist controlled unions can stand on an equal footing with free unions.

The deliberations of the convention were blueprinted by an exhaustive report from the executive council dealing with both national and international questions.

Various parts of the report were submitted to convention committees for approval and in some cases for inclusion in resolutions submitted to the convention for adoption.

The convention ratified the conclusions of its executive council.

Following recommendations in the opening address of President William Green, the

delegates adopted a resolution calling for the dissolution of federal price controls over everything but rents.

The action was based on the ineffectiveness of controls since the original OPA was allowed to die by Congress on June 30. Following the period of inflation which followed, and the restrictive amendments subsequently adopted by Congress when it enacted the new OPA bill, price control enforcement has deteriorated to the point that the convention decided it would be better to wipe the slate clean.

In his address opening the convention, President Green, in discussing the OPA situation, declared:

"On the question of price control, we have been passing through a situation that has subjected us to very trying experiences. Fairly decent governmental control was exercised by the government up to June 30, when the first governmental control act was passed and was in operation.

"Then Congress refused to continue the act in its former character. I am not sure that it was then suited for the changed conditions that had come about, but at least an examination of the act itself and the record leads us to the conclusion that it at least was better than the act they finally passed.

"Instead of this act now in operation being a price control law, I would classify it as a profit promoting measure. Labor has suffered as a result of it already. We are suffering now.

"We believe that some new way must be found and, with the exception of perhaps continued control of rent and some other items comparable to that, we believe the time has come when price control, along with wage control, should be lifted by the government of the United States."

The convention was addressed by an imposing array of speakers who discussed with authority vital aspects of world relations. Reports on military preparedness by such authorities as Secretary of War Patterson

and Gen. Carl Spaatz, commanding the army air forces, were studied with profound attention by the delegates.

The remarks of Secretary Patterson and

General Spaatz are carried on subsequent pages of this issue along with other important addresses and parts of the report of the executive council.

# We Stand Firm on Immigration

## U. S. Demands Protection from Flood of Refugees

By LESTER M. HUNT

**O**UR editorial last month opposing the immigration of European refugees to the United States created a considerable furore, as we expected it would.

It drew enthusiastic applause and bitter criticism. The applause drowned out the criticism, however, indicating clearly that the people of this country are determined to prevent a flood of immigration from Europe and Asia.

The writer of this article was also the writer of the hotly debated editorial appearing on the inside back cover of the October issue. He assumes full responsibility for it.

Neither he nor this organization shrinks from criticism. We do, however, expect the criticism to be honest, no matter how heated.

Much of the criticism of last month's editorial was not honest. The editorial was wilfully misinterpreted to picture President Tobin as a Fascist with anti-Semitic views.

When he opposed the formation of Catholic Teamster unions or any division of labor along religious lines, he was also criticized. Although Mr. Tobin is a devout Catholic himself, he has consistently maintained that any Catholic association of unions is foreign to the broad, nonsectarian basis of the trade union movement.

Only a few months ago when he warned that free enterprise could not survive under the present policies of business, he was attacked as a Communist.

As long as such epithets are hurled so loosely, there can be no sane discussion of any of the public questions which must be discussed and solved if American democracy is to endure.

The record refutes any charge of Fascism or anti-Semitism that could be hurled at

President Tobin, this writer or the Teamsters' Union.

The record shows that this publication has repeatedly attacked Communism, Fascism and those who preach either. Frequently those who attack Communism most ferociously have no quarrel with Fascism. And the most bitter enemies of Fascism are often silent on Communism.

We attack them both. We do not condemn one to strengthen the other, as do so many of the most vocal agitators.

We recognize Fascism as the same vicious threat to human liberty as Communism. The only difference is who persecutes who. Or whether the dictator has a big mustache like Joe or a little one like Adolph.

The record also shows that our opposition to weakening the immigration laws did not start with President Truman's suggestion that 50,000 refugees from Europe be admitted in defiance of our immigration quotas.

We also resisted President Roosevelt's recommendation to repeal the ban on Oriental immigration to admit Chinese.

We believe in strict enforcement of the immigration laws, even strengthening of those laws to admit fewer immigrants regardless of where they come from.

This is not racial prejudice. It is not blind opposition to anyone who comes from another country. President Tobin was an immigrant boy himself, his father persecuted and driven out of Ireland. And he helped Joseph A. Padway, another immigrant boy from another country, to become general counsel of the American Federation of Labor.

He understands the difficulties that face a young man in a strange land and he has helped many of them surmount those diffi-

culties. But he also understands economic conditions today, which are in direct contrast to those of half a century ago.

Then America was looking for workers. Today it is looking for jobs. People who enter the United States today are likely to become public charges, supported by public funds.

This country faces an economic upheaval which may throw millions of Americans out of work. It would be suicidal to bring additional millions to these shores only to share the misery of the unemployed or to compete with them for jobs at lower wages.

But additional millions will come if ever the barricades are removed. The arrival of "only" 50,000 displaced persons would be the entering wedge—the first trickle of a torrent.

Our standard of living, our form of government, could not withstand such a shock.

President Tobin understands that, as do most intelligent, patriotic labor leaders. They are Americans and their first consideration is for America. However deeply they sympathize with the plight of homeless, persecuted people, they cannot let their sympathies blind them to the duty they owe the American citizens who look to them to protect American living standards.

The malicious charge of racial bias against President Tobin falls further in consideration of his close relations with Samuel Gompers.

In 1921 when the Ku Klux Klan was reviving ancient animosities, an attempt was made to defeat Gompers as president of the American Federation of Labor. He was attacked by bigots in organized labor.

When he was assailed so unfairly, President Tobin sprang to his help. President Tobin became his campaign manager at the Denver convention of the AFL in 1921. He rallied such strong support to Gompers that he defeated his opponent by better than a two-to-one vote.

And at just about that same time, the writer of this article was kidnaped by the Ku Klux Klan because, as a newspaper man, he was conducting an exposé of the Klan and its methods. The kidnaping was an act of intimidation. It did not accomplish its

purpose. This writer is still a sworn enemy of the Klan, the Bund, the Communist party and every other subversive organization in America.

He knows that these organizations are attempting by devious methods to import their sympathizers into the United States. Most of the peoples of Europe and Asia have become infected with Communism or Fascism. They are now eager to storm the last citadel of free enterprise and democracy remaining in the world.

Their Mecca is North America. Their vehicle is the Trojan horse.

We have no apologies to anyone for our remarks last month. We are told that the majority of the displaced persons seeking admission here are not Communist sympathizers as we surmised but earnest devotees of democracy. Maybe so.

But still we do not want them. We do not want immigrants from any source while they are a threat to American wages, American employment and the American standards of living.

Any immigration today is such a threat. And our primary obligation as American citizens is to oppose it. When we do, we benefit the very people who think they are being discriminated against and condemned to poverty, because if the American standard of living can be maintained, it will raise that of the rest of the world.

We will share our prosperity with them.

If it falls, they will share their poverty with us.

As Americans, we have only one course to follow and we do so in the earnest hope that it will lead us all to the goal we seek.

President Tobin's position is simple and emphatic. Before anything else, he is an American. Secondarily he is a Teamster, a Teamster devoted to the organization that honored him and determined to protect its interests.

He remembers the dark days when 20,000,000 Americans faced hunger, searching desperately for any job that would fill their sagging belts.

Such days must not return. The policies of President Tobin are designed to prevent it.

# Wildcat Strikes Must be Stopped

## International Union Will Enforce Strike Restrictions

SOME members of this organization believe that strike benefits are automatic. They think that all they have to do is to quit work and the International begins paying them.

These members are mistaken, as many of them learned to their discomfiture after disconnecting themselves from their payrolls.

To receive strike benefits, a strike must be authorized by the International. But before the question is even referred to the International for approval, several specific steps must be taken by the local union, the most important of which is a secret ballot of the membership.

Unless a strike is approved by a two-thirds vote, the International cannot consider it.

The preliminary steps to a strike are clearly set forth in the International constitution, which governs the procedure of all local unions.

Inasmuch as many of our new members obviously have not read the constitution, we will set forth here the laws of the International pertaining to strike action.

Here is the grievance procedure:

1. Whenever any controversy arises with employers, the members involved must lay the matter before the union.

2. The union must approve the position of the members involved before any action whatever can be taken.

3. If the membership approves the position of the members involved in the dispute, the president of the local must appoint a committee to contact the employers in an effort to adjust the matter.

4. The committee must report back to the membership at a regular or special meeting.

5. If the committee reports that it cannot settle the conflict, a secret, written ballot must be taken on the question of a strike.

The ballots must be marked "Yes" if the voter favors a strike or "No" if he does not.

6. Unless there is a two-thirds majority in favor of the strike, it cannot be called.

7. If the strike vote is favorable by a two-thirds margin, the question must then be referred to the secretary of the joint council with which the local is affiliated.

8. The secretary must immediately call a meeting of the joint council.

9. The joint council can reject or approve the strike. If it rejects it, the union cannot go on strike.

10. If the joint council approves the strike, the action must then be reported to the general president.

11. If the general president approves the strike he will request strike sanction by the general executive board.

12. If the general executive board approves the request, the strikers will be eligible for benefits of \$10 per week after the second week and the International may pay out such other funds as it deems necessary to win the strike.

13. There is no limit to the amount the general executive board may spend in assisting a local union to win a strike. The constitution specifically authorizes the board to spend its entire treasury, which at the present time contains more than \$16,000,000.

Some impatient young members may think this is all a lot of red tape which delays strikes. It does delay strikes, and the International has learned from expensive experience that it is a good thing to delay them.

But once the International approves a strike, the sky is the limit. No expense will be spared to win it, as many employers have also learned from expensive experience.

Over the last half-century the members of the International Union have learned that most hasty strikes are lost. Therefore, in

their conventions, they have adopted strict rules to prevent rash action.

The old members have also discovered that often the men who clamor loudest for a strike are the first to break under its hardships. With their leaders seeking to surrender, the stampeded members go back to work like whipped dogs in complete defeat.

Every time a union takes a licking in a strike, it loses prestige. The members lose wages. They also lose confidence in the union and the employers get a little tougher because of their victory.

The old-time Teamsters have learned all this the hard way. They want to spare the young members from the penalty of their mistakes.

Therefore they adopted a constitution which sets forth plainly the steps that must be taken before a strike can be authorized. During the time consumed, the aggrieved members have time to think it over. So do the employers.

We have learned that many sudden conflicts are adjusted while the strike steps are being taken. Both sides have a chance to cool off.

Also, while the strike steps are being taken, the union has a chance to make the careful plans without which no strike can succeed.

To be successful, a strike must have the united support of the men involved. Beyond that, the men must have sufficient financial backing to carry them through a prolonged period of idleness.

Once a strike starts, no one can foretell how long it will last or how much it will cost.

If the International Union paid benefits for every wildcat strike, we would soon have no money left in the treasury and very few men at work. Such a policy would encourage wildcat strikes.

It would put our membership at the mercy of irresponsible agitators who would rather strike than work. Everything we have gained for our members over the years would be sacrificed.

This union did not reach its present position of power and influence by letting screwballs run wild. Its old-time members did

not fight and starve to create an organization for others to tear apart.

The policies of the International have paid off. They have built the world's largest union, now close to 900,000 members. They have increased the wages and improved the working conditions of the members.

One of the cardinal principles of the Teamsters' Union is that the strike is a weapon of last resort, to be used only after every peaceful method of settlement has been tried and has failed.

The International Union will pursue that policy. It will pay no benefits for unauthorized strikes. If any members have legitimate grievances, they must follow the steps outlined in the constitution if they expect help from the International.

Uninformed members should not get the idea that the powers of the International are limited solely to denying strike benefits. The International has ample authority to punish individual members and local unions which defy the constitution and bring trouble to other unions.

Wildcat strikers can be fined, suspended and expelled. Local union charters can be revoked. The union can be put under trusteeship. Other unions can be instructed to pay no attention to its picket lines, as many have been in recent weeks.

The International Union intends to exercise its powers to maintain a disciplined organization. If it shirks that duty, the government will act. In fact, the responsibility for many restrictive laws that have been passed can be laid directly at the door of wildcat strikers.

It gives our enemies the excuse to pass such laws, maintaining that the unions cannot control their members. Every defiance of authority in the future will be used as an excuse for still sterner laws.

The International must protect its loyal members from such penalties. It must do so by maintaining discipline and insisting that the laws adopted by the membership in convention be respected.

**Strikes have become a national menace. They are an invitation to inflation and depression. They must be cur-**

tailed or the nation will sink into chaos and organized labor will perish.

We earnestly ask the cooperation of every member in rigidly observing the legal strike procedure.

If our request is not enough, we will take whatever additional action is necessary.

But get this straight—we are not going to

sit quietly looking out the window while a few agitators kick this union to pieces.

Some of these agitators think they are pretty tough characters. So did some others whose names are now forgotten. They found out differently when the heat was turned on. If necessary, this will be a very warm winter for some people.

## \$25 Initiation Should be Maximum

### High Fees Invite Investigation by Congressmen

ONE of the first things the next Congress may do is to examine the initiation fees of local unions. Many such fees are unreasonably high. They keep men out of unions.

That is not the purpose of a union. Its purpose is to gain as many members as possible in order to have the strength to improve wages and conditions in their craft.

Some locals apparently reason that by exorbitant initiation fees they can build a fence around their craft. They think it protects their members.

In reality, it has the opposite effect. It keeps a union vulnerable to attack and it provides propaganda for the enemies of labor to use against all unions.

Most locals of the Teamsters' Union have reasonable initiation fees. Those which have unreasonable fees are inviting trouble for the rest of the locals, in addition to violating one of the fundamental purposes of organized labor.

The policy of the International favors initiation fees not in excess of \$25. That is all a working man can afford to pay and in some cases it is hard enough for him to pay that much.

It was to encourage local unions to keep their initiation fees low that a clause was inserted in the International constitution providing that the International receives only \$1 on all initiation fees of \$25 or less.

Above \$25, the International takes 10 per cent.

Thus a local which charges a \$25 initiation fee pays only \$1 of it to the Interna-

tional, whereas a union that charges \$50 pays \$5.

When some locals were first organized, a higher initiation fee was necessary to get the local going with sufficient funds in its treasury to meet expenses.

But most locals have long since passed that day. They receive sufficient revenue from their dues to conduct their affairs and lay up a healthy reserve for emergencies.

The only purpose a high fee now serves is to make it more difficult for deserving men to join the union. And it puts a needless hardship on them.

The constitution does not give the International Union the power to force local unions to reduce their initiation fees. Some amendments to this effect may be introduced at the next national convention.

It is advisable, however, that the locals charging in excess of \$25 reduce their fees of their own volition. Otherwise, they will be fanning the fires of union prejudice and giving hostile congressmen justification for punitive legislation.

In June of 1942, the general executive board recommended that no local charge more than \$10 initiation to any new members employed on government war work.

The board said at that time that initiation fees of \$40 to \$60 charged by some locals created a hardship and aroused much unfavorable comment.

Again in February of 1943, the board refused to sanction the request of a local union desiring to raise its initiation fee from \$10 to \$100.

The disposition of the matter was con-

tained in the minutes of the board meeting printed in the March, 1943, issue of THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER as follows:

"After discussing the matter it was the judgment of the general executive board that permission could not be granted this local union to raise its initiation fee to \$100, since the International Union is opposed to high initiation fees and the government is insisting that organizations of labor hold their initiation fees down to a reasonable amount."

Some unions in other crafts have adopted such high fees that men are unable to join. In consequence, the unions are shriveling

up. The strength of any organization is its steady stream of young men coming in. When this stream stops, the union dies.

There never was a time when unions needed their strength more than they do today. Their salvation lies in the number of loyal members in their ranks.

High initiation fees will reduce this number on which our future depends. A union is not a country club which restricts its membership to the upper social brackets. It is an organization that exists solely for the purpose of improving the conditions of working men.

When it becomes an exclusive organization, it has forfeited its reason for existence.

## NAM Fears Costs of Russian War

The National Association of Manufacturers is worried about the possibility of war with Russia. It fears it would have to fight it, as well as pay for it.

Apparently the NAM has been reading THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER. At least, the NAM has reached the same conclusion, which is that another war would make the United States a totalitarian state with industry as well as labor drafted for the duration of the emergency.

The Teamsters' Union has expressed the conviction that we would continue to be a totalitarian state after the war had ended, partly by necessity and partly by the desire of those in control.

The NAM does not object to the draft of labor but it does object to the draft of capital and it takes pride in the fact that it resisted a draft of capital during the last war.

It is not sure that its luck would continue, according to a recent bulletin which quotes estimates of the cost of a Russian war at the astronomical figure of a thousand billion dollars.

Of course with such a debt there would be no free economy in this country, particu-

larly if many of our major cities were in ruins, as they probably would be.

It is encouraging to note that the NAM is concerned by the cost of another war, in dollars, even if it does not shudder at the cost in lives and suffering. Here is the warning of the NAM in a recent bulletin:

"If war with Russia should come, the consensus among Washington officials is that national service—which industry successfully opposed during the last war—will have to be imposed immediately.

"This in turn would necessitate the conscription of all the productive and transportation resources of the nation and the elimination of the profit system—at least for the time being. It would be politically impossible, these government leaders agree, to force labor to work in plants that are operated on a profit basis.

"Few military leaders believe Russia could be defeated by atomic bombs alone. They believe invasion and occupation would be necessary, at a terrific expenditure of lives and material. One top official estimated that the cost of a war with Russia would increase the national debt by \$500 billion to \$1,000 billion."

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As national income rises, a greater proportion goes for savings. A Twentieth Century Fund survey shows that in the depression year of 1933 we saved 6 per cent of national income, as compared with 18.8 per cent in 1929 and 19.2 per cent in 1937.—*The Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer.*

# 46 Legislatures Meet Next Year

## Every Local Union Should Contact Its Legislators

LEGISLATURES elected on November 5 will go into action in 44 states and two territories in 1947 for what promises to be the most critical year labor has faced on the state legislative front.

The intention of business is to add to the list of 15 states already having restrictive labor legislation and to make more drastic the laws already existing in those states.

The legislatures begin meeting on New Year's Day in six states and in all but Florida and Alabama the legislative sessions will begin during January.

The Florida legislature convenes on April 8 and the Alabama legislature on May 6.

It is too early to determine the complexion of the legislatures chosen on November 5 but it is safe to say that each has a large bloc of antilabor members.

How effective that bloc will be depends largely on how closely labor watches the legislature and how well it is informed of the intentions of the opposition.

Every Teamster local union should be represented during the legislative session in its state capital, either by its own legislative agents or those selected by joint councils.

Teamster legislative representatives should become familiar with new legislators and their attitude toward labor. Before the session opens, it should be possible to know where antilabor legislation will come from, what it will be and how much support it is likely to receive in the legislature.

The Teamster legislative agents, in conferences with friendly legislators, should map out plans to defeat or amend hostile laws.

Contacts should be made with every legislator elected from the territory of each local union. In cities where there are several local unions, they should select joint legislative agents acting for the entire group of unions.

Too many times labor has been caught asleep during legislative sessions. It awakens too late to stop laws that the opposition

has carefully prepared and pushes through a legislature already organized.

The reason is that business goes to work a long time in advance. It knows what it wants and it selects the men most capable of getting it. Probably every candidate for every state legislature was contacted by business during the campaign.

In many cases campaign funds were donated. Immediately after the election, the legislators will be contacted again by business and the work of organizing the session will commence.

Candidates friendly to business will be pushed for presiding officers and chairmen of important committees. Once business has the committees, the skids are greased.

It is an uphill fight for labor from then on.

Labor can accomplish much if it goes to work at once in the same thorough way. If every legislator knows that labor is watching him, he won't fall so easily into the lap of business.

Unless labor is active and alert, the average legislator will follow the road of least resistance and the business lobbyists.

Labor cannot defeat hostile legislation by twiddling its thumbs until it reads in the paper some morning that a vicious bill has been introduced. By that time, it is usually too late.

During the present year, 10 state legislatures met in regular session and 14 in special session. An upward trend in unemployment benefits occurred as reported in an analysis by the Social Security Administration.

Massachusetts increased its maximum benefit from \$21 to \$25 per week and, effective April 1, provided an additional benefit of \$2 for each dependent child under 18.

It also liberalized the provisions pertaining to veterans by permitting those who earned at least \$150 in any base period since discharge to apply for benefits under the state law.

Previously they could not apply for state benefits until all federal benefit rights were

exhausted. Now they can take their choice. Massachusetts also indicated interest in extending payments to those unemployed by reason of disability. The legislature passed a resolution authorizing investigation and study of such benefits.

New York lifted its restrictions on seasonal workers and also provided that a veteran who is idle because of a labor dispute may apply, after seven weeks, for benefits of \$20 per week out of a special fund.

Missouri increased its maximum weekly compensation to \$20 from \$18 and extended the duration of the allowance. It also created a department of labor and industrial relations under a three-man board known as the Industrial Commission of Missouri, with authority to make its own rules and administer the state employment service and unemployment compensation.

Kentucky established an employment service commission in the state Department of Industrial Relations. The commission consists of a director and two other members, one chosen from a list submitted by labor and the other from a list submitted by management. The selections are made by the director with the approval of the governor.

The commission will establish free public employment offices and administer the Wagner-Peyser act. The law authorizes the establishment of local advisory committees representing equally labor, management and the public.

The director of the Department of Industrial Relations may accept money, services or facilities from any agency charged

with the administration of an employment service and from any private non-profit organization.

Louisiana liberalized its payments for unemployment during labor disputes. The benefits are now payable for the duration of the dispute. Previously, payments were limited to three weeks. The state also permitted wages in excess of \$3,000 per year to be used in computing benefit rights. Earnings above this figure had previously been excluded.

Virginia raised its minimum weekly unemployment compensation to \$5 from \$4.

California extended its unemployment benefits to persons idle because of sickness, either physical or mental.

Alaska increased its minimum weekly compensation to \$8 from \$5 and its maximum payments to \$25 from \$16.

The New Jersey legislature passed a resolution looking toward disability payments by authorizing an investigation of the matter.

While all these actions by legislatures meeting this year were beneficial, they should not lull labor into a feeling that all is well on the legislative front. It is not.

Most of these legislatures meet again next year with their membership materially changed. With 46 of them in session, including Alaska and Hawaii, it will be impossible for any central agency to watch them all.

The job must be done by labor locally. If it is not done thoroughly there will be more than 15 states with laws designed to destroy the effectiveness of unions.

## NAM Reduces Wages by Raising Prices

Throughout the war and the peace that followed, the National Association of Manufacturers has done all it could to wreck price control, to secure unwarranted increases, and to keep wages and buying power at the lowest level possible.

What the big trusts would really like to do is cut hourly wages to the bone notwithstanding the fact that surveys indicate that take-home pay has already shown a sharp

decline. The strength of organized labor is such, however, that such a direct attack on workers' incomes would have failed miserably.

The alternative attack against the administration's price line was conceived by NAM strategists as accomplishing the same result of robbing the workers' pay envelopes in a less obvious manner.

—*Colorado Labor Advocate.*

# Labor Asks Aid for Public Schools

## Enactment of Senate Bill No. 2499 Urged by AFL

CALLING on every local union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to support federal assistance for the public schools, the committee on education urged the national AFL convention to take steps to relieve the critical shortage of teachers.

The committee pointed out that for 10 years the AFL has been trying to obtain

federal funds to raise and equalize the standards of education. Conditions reviewed in the report of the executive council were made the basis of the report of the committee on education which was approved by the delegates.

The report of the education committee follows:

More than ten years ago the American Federation of Labor, concerned with the inadequacy of our public school system and believing that democratic government can succeed only on the basis of adequate public education, initiated a campaign to secure federal funds to raise substandard levels of education and to equalize educational opportunities for children throughout the nation.

A comprehensive resumé of the battle for federal aid during the last decade is contained in the report of the executive council on this important subject.

That the concern of the American Federation of Labor for American education was well justified is evidenced by the serious crisis facing the nation's school today. As indicated elsewhere in this report, thousands of classrooms have no teachers at all and many thousands more have teachers who are untrained for the highly skilled work of educating children.

Even more alarming is the fact that, at a time when the colleges and universities are overflowing with students, very few young persons are preparing themselves for the teaching profession.

While nearly all other departments in the institutions of higher learning are experiencing the highest enrollments in the history of American education, the enrollments in the teacher training institutions are at a very low ebb and many of the students who have enrolled are not well suited to the teaching profession.

Not only low salaries, but immeasurable

rules of boards of education—such as rules prohibiting women teachers from marrying—tend to make teaching an unattractive profession. The shortage of teachers has become so critical as to create one of the greatest crises in the history of American education.

Numerous articles on the present crisis in the schools indicate that the public is at least mildly aroused over the tragic conditions of the nation's schools. But publicity alone will do little to solve the problem. Year after year during the last decade the American Federation of Labor has been concerned with the crisis after crisis facing the schools until this year, in 1946, we face a situation which requires immediate and drastic action.

A crippled, struggling public school system is contrary to everything for which the American Federation of Labor has stood over the years. The problem is not one which merely involves organized teachers struggling for a decent wage scale, but one which is related to the future welfare and security of the nation.

The economic depression of the 1930's and World War II have demonstrated that in peace or in war, in adversity as in prosperity, a sound educational system is indispensable in a democratic society.

Why is it that the United States—the richest nation in the world, a land overflowing with milk and honey—the work of training the nation's children is constantly hampered by crises which today have

mounted to tragic and alarming proportions?

Why is it that a profession which should attract the most capable and best suited students of the nation is being avoided almost to a degree of depletion?

Why is it that, as indicated above, thousands of classrooms have no teachers at all and thousands of untrained and unqualified persons are acting as teachers at this time of peak prosperity in the nation's history?

Numerous conferences—national, state and local—have been held and are being currently held to find the answer to these problems. During the month of June, 1946, a two-day conference was sponsored by non-union educational organizations at Chautauqua, N. Y., to find the answer to these problems. The real answer could be read in two minutes from the proceedings of the last AFL convention in 1944, which stated:

"Today the whole nation is alarmed over the fact that thousands of classrooms are closed because teachers are not available. . . . The compensation received by the teachers of the United States—the most wealthy nation in the world—is a disgrace to the nation.

"Teachers, representing one of the largest groups of highly skilled workers in the nation, have not yet raised their wage scales to the level of unskilled workers. This is the fundamental reason for the exodus of teachers from the profession and consequent shortage of teachers. Teachers cannot be expected to remain in the classroom at starvation wages. Proper adjustment in wage scales will solve the teacher shortage problem definitely and immediately."

The mounting crisis facing the schools has resulted largely from the fact that the enemies of organized labor have also been the enemies of the public schools.

During the last 10 years organized business and industrial groups have been assiduously working—often with highly skilled, highly paid personnel—to undermine the

financial support of the schools for the purpose of reducing local taxes and increasing profits regardless of the results in the lives of children.

Large corporations holding extensive properties have been quietly working, politically or otherwise, for many years to reduce their tax evaluations and thus throw the larger share of the costs of the schools upon the small homes.

It is an ironical situation that the same antilabor groups with which nonunion teachers' organizations are cooperating closely at the present time, in their attempt to stop the unionization of teachers, have been active in wrecking the financial foundation of the public schools and thus compelling teachers to leave the profession to earn a living wage.

These crucial problems are directly related to the subject of federal aid to education. The crisis immediately facing the nation is one of national concern. The welfare and security of the entire nation are at stake. It is time for action on a national scale. Just as early trade unions fought to establish the public school system of the nation, so now the great labor movement of the nation must fight to save the public schools.

It is time for action on the part of every affiliated union throughout the United States in support of a program of federal assistance to the schools which will place the schools on a sound financial basis, make possible salaries which will keep teachers in the profession, and eliminate once and for always the constantly recurring crises which face the schools year after year.

Your committee therefore recommends concurrence in that section of the executive council's report which refers to federal aid and which supports the general principles of Senate Bill No. 2499, a federal aid bill including the basic recommendations of the American Federation of Labor.

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The U. S. Department of Labor's attitude on child labor throughout the country should be concentrated more intensely on the situation in Tennessee, since boys and girls 14 years old are still employed in nonhazardous work and those 16 years old in hazardous jobs in this state. AFL organizations in Nashville are looking forward to seeing these age limits raised.—*Nashville Trades and Labor News*.

# U. S. is Not "Armed to the Teeth"

## But It Is Prepared to Defend Itself, Says Patterson

By ROBERT P. PATTERSON  
Secretary of War

*Delivered to the national AFL convention in Chicago*

YOUR president, Will Green, made a speech to a group of army officers 21 years ago. He said:

"We are confident that industry and the elements of production will play an increasing part in the conduct of any future war in which our government may become engaged."

We have seen his prediction come true. In World War II it was American industry and the elements of production that supplied our fighting forces with the better weapons and better equipment that meant the difference between victory and defeat. It was not a case of "too little and too late." We got plenty, and we got it on time.

The vital contribution of American labor is a matter of record. No history of the war can be written that does not devote many chapters to the unparalleled output of war materials that was supplied by our workers. That production effort was far more than a matter of cold statistics. When I think of war production my mind goes back to a trip I made to a shell-loading plant in Ohio in the winter of 1945, at a time when we were anxious about shells.

I saw the midnight shift come to work, many of the workers from a distance of 30 miles—two hours in a bus. They were people who were well over military age. When you asked them about the work, they would tell you, "I have two boys fighting in the Third Army," or "I've a son with MacArthur in the Philippines; I'm working so that he will come back safe and sound."

That same scene was enacted that night at thousands of plants in the length and breadth of this land—millions of loyal Americans doing their part to save their nation from defeat and bring their boys back.

During the war and since we have heard a good deal of talk about the army having had the desire to move in and take command of the civilian economy. There is not the faintest ray of truth in such talk.

The War Department has always, before, during and since the war, urged that in time of war as well as in time of peace the necessary controls over civilian economy should be lodged with a civilian agency of government, with power to decide what measures and restrictions are necessary for equipping the armed forces. We are still firmly of that opinion.

I saw the other day a speech made 15 years ago by an army major, in which he laid stress on the point that mobilization of industry in time of war to meet war needs should be the responsibility of a civilian agency especially created for the purpose, not controlled by the War Department. The major's name was Dwight Eisenhower.

I read another statement made in 1931 by an army officer in support of a plan that in the event of war the necessary steps in over-all direction of the nation's industrial effort should be the function of a civilian organization of the government. That officer was Douglas MacArthur.

The industrial mobilization plan, published in 1939 by the War Department, made the point that in the event of war all economic functions necessary to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor should be the task of a temporary wartime agency under civilian administration.

In 1942 and again in 1944 I made it plain, in testimony before committees of Congress, that in the opinion of the War Department, control of industrial mobilization in time of war was properly placed in the hands of a civilian agency, staffed by civilians with

experience in industry, commerce and labor.

Our prime objective today is prevention of war. We have many problems of the day, but I believe that the winning and maintenance of lasting peace overshadows all other issues.

No true American wants war. We have no designs on neighbors' lands or on their goods. The army does not want war. Your military leaders share your fervent hope that war can and will be abolished. They know full well the price of war, in loss of lives, in ruin and devastation, in mountainous burdens of debt. Like all patriotic Americans, they want our country to get rid of the curse of war and to enjoy the blessings of lasting peace.

But it is plain enough that the mere resolution of our people to have lasting peace is not enough. If peace is to be a reality rather than a product of wishful thinking, the other great powers must have the same resolution. Friendly relations among countries is not a one-sided matter. This country cannot safely disarm while other nations maintain powerful forces. Military weakness has never led to peace. Running away in the face of aggression has never prevented involvement in war. We have tried weakness; we have tried appeasement; and we have been thrust into war after war.

We saw last week the climax of the Nuremberg trial, the conviction and sentence of death in the case of the German war leaders. There will be scattered criticism. There is not a single murderer who does not get sympathy from a few who forget his crime. But the mind and conscience of the civilized world will give wholehearted approval of the verdict.

These were the men who by deliberate design started a great war, in order to steal the property of inoffensive neighbors—a war in which 20,000,000 people lost their lives, a war that forced millions more into human slavery and subjected still other millions to the torture of the concentration camp, a war that brought misery and suffering on a scale never before imagined. History has no record of such concentrated wickedness.

There is lasting significance in the punishment of the leaders who launched a powerful nation on a war of aggression. The Nuremberg trial marks the end of the doctrine that in cases of war guilt the higher-ups, the people who have set in motion the machinery to plunge the world into war, should not be touched.

There is a deeper significance. It was clearly brought out at the trial that those Nazi leaders could not have carried their plan forward if they had not first suppressed liberty in their own land. Their first step was to put down freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which meant that Germans received only such information as the conspirators saw fit to let them have.

They knew full well that only by control of information or misinformation could they bring their people to support a war program. In no nation, not even in Germany, do the mass of the people want war, unless they have been persuaded that someone has done them a great injury or is about to attack them. The Nazi leaders were able to sell the German people on war by tall tales of the Czechs attacking Germans, the Poles attacking Germans—lies that would not have been believed if there had been a free press in Germany.

In the long run, the greatest measure in prevention of war will be the spread of free speech and free press throughout the world. When men are at liberty to give and receive information and to take part in discussion, without the hand of the secret police on their shoulders, and without dread of the knock on the door in the night that means the start of the journey to the concentration camp, it will do more than anything else to prevent a ruling group at the top from throwing the manpower and the resources of a great nation into aggressive warfare.

When that time comes, and I am confident that it will come, we need have no great concern about involvement in war. It is not yet at hand, however, and in the meantime we must rely on our own readiness and resources.

The United Nations, which means a world organized for peace, offers us a concrete program for relief from recurrence of war.

If it is firmly supported by the great powers, the chances are bright that we will see no more wholesale slaughter. But until we can be sure that the necessary support will be forthcoming, it stands to reason that we must look to our own defenses for our security. When all is said and done, it is our ability to protect ourselves that counts in a world that still talks in terms of planes, tanks and guns.

I cannot lay too much stress on the importance of showing to the world, friend or foe, the readiness of the United States to defend itself. In the present day and age, that readiness is the most effective guaranty of peace that can be devised. No foreign power, no combination of powers, will go to war with the United States or will follow policies that involve the risk of war with us, if they look us over and conclude that their prospects of success in a fight with us are not good.

In the 1920's and 1930's this nation permitted its military establishment to go to pieces. The mood of the American people demanded that course. What was even worse, a large group of our people took it on themselves to broadcast to the world that we would not resist in case of attack, that under no conditions would we fight.

It is a proven fact that Japanese and German leaders, in launching their plans for world rule, counted on the United States having neither the means nor the will power to go through a hard war.

The Japanese, we know now, made no plans to invade and conquer the United States. Their plan was to seize everything in Asia and in the Pacific quickly, before the United States could get ready to fight, and to hold what they had stolen until war weariness on our part should induce us to make a peace that would confirm the Japanese conquests. They made a great mistake, but it took this country four years of hard fighting to prove it.

**It is as certain as anything can be that there would have been no World War II if our means to fight and our willingness to repel aggression had been plain to the Japanese war lords**

**and to Hitler before they started on their rampage.**

In the future we will have no interval of time in which to build up our defenses from nothing. The speed and sudden destruction of any future war will not permit us to remain helpless until war is just around the corner, as we have done in the past. Those who put their faith on our industrial strength forgot that it took us two years to put that industrial strength into full use in the last war. The fighting done by our allies gave us those two years, but we will not be so fortunate the next time.

Last week a navy plane flew non-stop from Australia to Ohio—11,000 miles in 55 hours. That is almost halfway around the world. A few days later an army plane started from Hawaii, flew over the polar region and finished in Egypt, a distance of 10,000 miles. Yet it is certain that those records will be beaten in a matter of months. A guided missile, with a range far greater than the German long-range rockets, is also a probability in a matter of months. If war should come again, we may be certain that in speed, range and power of weapons it will make the war just finished look like a fight with oldtime muzzle loaders.

The charge has been made that this country is arming to the teeth, and it has been claimed that out of a total budget of \$36 billion for this fiscal year, \$28 billion is for national defense. The fact is that the appropriations for the army and navy are \$11 billion. The figure of \$28 billion is arrived at by adding to the \$11 billion appropriated to the army and navy an additional \$17 billion that represents the cost of paying for past wars, but has nothing to do with present or future national defense.

The \$17 billion includes the expense of interest on the public debt, the cost of veterans' benefits, terminal leave pay for service men who have already been released to civil life, contributions to UNRRA, the cost of operating OPA, and a host of other items that have no bearing on our ability to resist aggression at the present time.

The tremendous cost in carrying these burdens of past wars is a powerful argument for keeping out of war, but it does not show

that we are armed to the teeth. It proves what we already know, that we were not armed to the teeth, or even to the knees in 1940.

Take the figure of \$11 billion for the army and navy. One billion dollars of that figure is for the cost of activities that are the responsibility of the army and navy but do not contribute in any way to military strength. I refer to the cost of feeding, clothing and caring for half a million displaced persons in Germany and Austria, of looking after army property that has been declared surplus and is held awaiting disposal, and of similar activities. So the actual figure attributable to national defense is \$10 billion.

We are not armed to the teeth. We have an army of somewhat over a million men, the greater part of them spread out thin over occupied areas overseas. Our forces are not comparable in manpower to the Russian army, which still has five million men.

Ten billion dollars is indeed a very large sum of money and I sincerely hope that as the years go on and our international organization grows stronger and stronger, and our needs for troops of occupation grow less and less we will be able to reduce those figures substantially.

But this is the year 1946 with its doubtful possibilities. We have not yet won the peace. We must have strong military forces to insure us against war. We have an annual national income of \$161 billion, and our appropriations call for \$10 billion for protection, a premium of about 6 per cent, a

high premium, to be sure, but a necessary one in the world of today.

I assure you your army is dollar conscious and is eager to reduce its cost to the taxpayer, but your army is also defense conscious and feels that our present defense program is sound.

The army's plan for national security is a plan to keep us out of war as well as a plan to enable us to win a war if we should become involved in one. There is no element in it of aggrandizement of the military. I can say, from an experience covering nine years of my life, that the personnel of the regular army, up and down the line, are thoroughly imbued with the tradition that they are soldiers of the Republic, that the civilian arms of the government are predominant over the military, that their sole duty is to carry out the will of the people as expressed by Congress and the President.

No effort in this country will succeed without the support of organized labor. I am indebted to John Frey for the information that in the Civil War the first great leader of the International Molders' Union organized, trained and led a company recruited from members of his union. Labor has not failed the nation in any war. It is made up of patriotic Americans, Americans who are fully aware of what citizenship in this country means, in responsibilities as well as in rights. Never forget that the army is your army. It exists only to carry out the will of the people. We know that we can count on you, as organized labor and as citizens, for wholehearted support in preserving the liberty that is so dear to all Americans.

## People Ignorant of Identity or Actions of Congress

A nation-wide poll has revealed that about half the people questioned—presumably a fair cross-section—could not name any senator with whose record they had reasonable familiarity, or appraise intelligently the qualifications of any member of Congress. Confusing senators with representatives was common, and many worthy folk were listed as members of Congress who had never achieved that honor.

This condition obviously does not make for good government. Members of Congress are not likely to be much concerned for the welfare of people who neither know who they are nor what they have done.

But quite apart from the effect this apathy may have on public men, it is convincing proof that a large part of our people are by no means awake to their civic responsibilities.—*The Government Standard*.

# Gen. Bradley Warns War Veterans

## Calls for Cooperation Between All Groups of Citizens

By GEN. OMAR N. BRADLEY  
Administrator of Veterans' Affairs

*Delivered to the national AFL convention in Chicago*

DURING the war, 13,000,000 American citizens put aside their private lives for the armed defense of the nation.

While they fought there were others who worked. It was because we fought together and worked together that we won the war.

Labor represents both the worker and the fighter. One out of every five American wage earners today is a veteran of this country's wars.

The young man with a union card in his pocket and a discharge button in his lapel knows it is primarily as a worker—rather than as a veteran—that he must make his way.

While in service, he suffered wartime losses in wages, skills and training.

As a veteran he has earned the chance to help offset those losses.

But ultimately it is as a worker that he will find job security and honest reward for productive labor.

Every young American veteran today faces a fundamental choice in how he shall think.

He can think of himself primarily as a citizen and he can employ his veteran benefits for his own best interests and those of the nation.

Or he can think of himself primarily as a veteran and he can employ his numerical strength for special privilege at the expense of the nation.

The choice is basically one between national welfare and special interests.

I speak first as an American—and then as administrator of veterans' affairs. I speak with strong personal conviction when I say that anyone—whether he be from government, industry or labor—whether he be the spokesman of veterans or any other group of American citizens—is morally guilty of

betrayal when he puts special interests before the welfare of this nation.

I refuse to believe that any American veteran would deliberately endanger the country he has fought to defend.

There are some veterans who might be deceived by the lure of easy money. There are some who might be misled by the promise of something for nothing.

If we want veterans to think as citizens, we must prove to them that special privilege is nothing more than a fraudulent substitute for honest opportunity.

There is nothing more menacing to the future of the American veteran than the phony champion who bids him think first of himself—to the exclusion of all others.

If we abandon the veteran to this selfish claptrap, if we permit the veteran to barter his opportunities as a citizen for a government handout—we must share the responsibility for selling him down the river.

More than ever before, these men who have risked their lives for our security must now be granted job security that will enable them to live as self respecting, self reliant, self supporting citizens in a free and independent America.

Where we were once compelled to defend democracy with the strength of these young men, we must now show that democracy can work for the enrichment of their lives.

For democratic government, to survive, must grant to its people continuing opportunities for greater economic security.

We must prove to veterans—and to all Americans—that political democracy is the forerunner of economic democracy. And we must show that as citizens in this democracy, veterans will find the opportunities to work, earn and prosper more than

has ever before been possible in any other nation.

Our veterans today were children during the great depression. Their wants and their ambitions reflect their fears of insecurity.

American veterans want jobs that will reward them fairly for honest labor.

American veterans want security that will free them from the fear of layoffs.

American veterans want homes that are livable dwellings they can afford.

American veterans want relief from the disabling effects of inflation.

And American veterans want to plan their futures without fear of paralyzing depressions.

This is not a program for veterans alone, but rather one that must be achieved for all Americans.

We shall not accomplish it with special privilege for veterans. We shall not accomplish it with special privilege for labor. We shall not accomplish it with special privilege for management.

Instead, we shall achieve it only with greater freedom of opportunity in a nation where all Americans have learned that whenever we pursue special privilege at the cost of national welfare we shall penalize ourselves as well as all others.

American veterans have been granted this greater freedom of opportunity in readjustment provisions of the G. I. bill. The American people have not sought to compensate veterans—other than those disabled—for their time and suffering in war. Instead, we have sought to replace lost wartime opportunity with greater opportunity to work and earn in peace.

Key provision of that Readjustment Act is the educational and training program

which will permit veterans greater freedom than ever before in their choice of vocations.

When growing abuses of on-the-job training threatened the entire program with public distrust and the danger of total rejection, I recommended to Congress a law designed to plug up the leaks.

Experience has demonstrated to us that a ceiling is essential to the honest conduct of on-the-job training. The abuses which led to this conclusion were not in established apprenticeship courses. They were found among veterans who were not really trainees but were in jobs involving a normal flow of promotion.

The Veterans' Administration is committed to the principle of a ceiling.

However, until continuing studies of journeymen's wages throughout these United States indicate that the level of the ceiling is too high or too low, we shall not take issue with those levels enacted by law of Congress.

Those persons who oppose these ceilings divide themselves into two groups. The first is conscientiously opposed, not to the principle of a ceiling, but rather to the level of the ceiling as established by law. The second is not only opposed to the principle of a ceiling, but it is opposed to any person who would call a halt on its expansion of special privilege for the veteran.

I feel it my duty as an American citizen to remind veterans that their future lies in honest opportunity rather than special privilege. We dare not benefit one group of the American people at the expense of another.

When veterans and nonveterans, business and labor view their interests in the nation's welfare, we shall then find our real productive strength.

## Motor Freight Lines Need New Equipment

Right at the top of the motor freight carrier peacetime "must" list is the necessity of rehabilitating the nation's war-battered commercial vehicle fleets.

While this is, naturally, a major concern of the trucking industry, it is also a prime necessity for the nation at large. Trucks and

trailers will be expected to carry efficiently their full share of the freight in speeding reconversion and building up the domestic economy.

New equipment is the one and only answer to how the job can be done.

—*Transport Topics.*

# Air Force First Line of Defense

## Midwest Now Exposed to Air Attack, Says Spaatz

By GEN. CARL SPAATZ  
Commanding General, Army Air Forces

*Delivered to the national AFL convention in Chicago*

DURING the war there came overseas an unbroken flow of weapons and supplies. These were produced by American skill, muscles and brains. The American arsenal sustained us in battle; it saved the cause of democracy; it gave the sinews of life to the United Nations. That was the impact of American free and highly skilled labor on our totalitarian enemies.

We had good reason to know you were then on the job, sharing in our country's defense. We were glad then to feel your presence in every instrument, in every ton of war supplies. And I am glad to be with you now.

The enemy, at the beginning of the war, was actually at our gates. That, we say, must never happen again. You have a right to know how we hope to prevent it happening again. We hope to prevent it by preventing war. For that we need strength which is obvious to the world.

The air force has a three-fold mission:

First, we must insure our national security in the air.

Second, we must meet certain commitments in the occupied areas, until other arrangements may be made under peace settlements.

Third, we have obligations under the charter of the United Nations to hold air units immediately available to carry out international decisions of that body.

All three tasks require air strength in being.

After we were attacked out of the blue at Pearl Harbor, we had time to build up our air force to the strength necessary to win control of the air over Germany. That time was handed to us by our allies, Britain and Russia, who maintained the battle while we trained personnel, made the weap-

ons and learned the new technique of strategic air war. It took two years to build that wartime air force.

When we finally had the required strength, in early 1944, it didn't take us long to win control of the air, which was absolutely essential to freedom of action of all forces—land, sea and air.

In the process two great industrial nations, Germany and Japan, were collapsed from within. Under the rain of bombs their economic life came to a standstill. Their home fronts dissolved into rubble. That was the penalty they paid for losing control of the air over their own lands.

The total expenditure of bombs on Germany and Japan, by the strategic air forces of Britain and America, was about 2,000,000 tons. These bombs were relatively small and carried conventional explosives. If they had been atomic bombs, only a small percentage of that total tonnage would have done the same work.

Next time, if it ever comes, there will not be two years to prepare the shattering blows, not even two months for buildup of strength. In fact, there will be no time at all, because of the new speed, extended range and terrific augmentation of explosives. If ever again we reckon on time for a buildup of force to defend ourselves, there probably would be only one surprise—the first—which would also be the last.

There will be no time because America is the richest nation. In two world wars the American arsenal has come through with the weapons for the knockout blows. Any future aggressor would begin with America first.

Moreover, for the first time in history, America is immediately exposed to long range air power. Our industry is the longest assembly line in the world. It is also the

most vulnerable to attack because of its concentration. The middle of our country, for the first time, is wide open to overwhelming surprise attack from the air.

To appreciate this new element of our defense problem we must think in terms of the globe. The flat projection maps, used in schools in the past, are misleading. Only on a globe, or a polar projection, do we see the significance of distance as the crow flies. The shortest air distances in the northern hemisphere are over the Arctic regions.

The surface forces, army and navy, cannot penetrate that region of perpetual ice. But the air is open. *The airplane comes from anywhere; it goes everywhere.*

Across the Arctic, the industrial areas of Europe, Asia and America are within range of each other with airplanes now in operation. Our B-36 can carry a heavy bomb load 5,000 miles and return to base. Any possible enemy, capable of developing air power, will have similar airplanes. Should there be another war it will be an air war, and it will open the whole Arctic as an arena of conflict.

There is only one deterrent to such surprise attack, and that is a strategic air force so strong that its power for split second counter measures insures an offensive defense. Only air power can defend this country against attack through the Arctic. Any preparation which ignores this fact is sheer waste of American time and money.

To fulfill its mission in this new strategical situation, the air force has certain specific requirements.

First, we need a program of continuous research and development. Science has enormously increased man's power of mass destruction. The Germans, for instance, were ahead of us in jet propulsion and guided missiles. Fortunately for us they were too late. If they had had six months more for manufacture of these weapons in quantity, they might have prolonged the war for a year or more. We must keep abreast of science.

Second, we must have an expandible aviation industry that applies the advance of science to production. That also takes time. For instance, the B-29. Five years

elapsed from the beginning of its development in 1939 to its first flight over Japan in 1944.

We must design machine tools and develop manufacturing techniques to produce new types of aircraft. We must maintain a working pool of skilled labor. All these must be expansible in an emergency.

There must be a strong civil air transport system and an active program of civil aviation in addition to our military air force in order to maintain an adequate aviation industry.

Industry is not now being kept up to the capacity demanded by national security.

Meanwhile, the country's defenses are reduced in three categories—modern aircraft on hand, manufacturing capacity and skilled aviation labor. In an emergency that would count against us.

Pushbutton warfare has not arrived, except in the headlines. Air power is still the first, the main and the last element of defense. Air power determines our country's position in the air age. By its very existence it gains time for the world to settle down, and for the evolution of the international peace machinery. We must keep it efficient.

We all want peace. We want America to preserve her traditional freedom while evolving into the new era on her own time table.

But how to get peace? We know that weakness invites attack, especially if the weak are also rich. We know that freedom is preserved only through strength. We know that potential strength is not good enough. Over our heads hangs the contingency of some super Pearl Harbor which would wipe out our industries. That contingency must be in our thoughts. We know it demands strength in being. The time for buildup, after hostilities begin, is gone forever.

Lastly, we know we have the sinews of strength. Our national backbone is our long assembly line, manned by the highest skilled and most patriotic workmen of the world. That assembly line licked Germany and Japan in war; it can lick the problems of peace.

Our principle of action in war was "Through Strength to Victory." Our prin-

ciple now is "Through Strength to Peace," not "Through Weakness to Disaster."

That is the supreme lesson of the day for

us all. As Americans we share this responsibility: Keep America strong. That is the only road to peace.

## Chicagoan is Best Truck Driver

Alex Adamski of Local No. 705 Wins National Championship

**A**LEX ADAMSKI of Local No. 705, Chicago, is the new champion truck driver of the United States. He won the national truck road-eo of the American Trucking Association in Chicago last month.

As the new champion he received a plaque denoting his skill and for the next year will receive a check of \$50 each month as first prize money.

In the finals of the event Adamski was pitted against Charles Goins of Local No. 135, Indianapolis, and Thomas E. Bennane of Local No. 299, Detroit.

Goins was the national champion in 1941 and gave Adamski his hottest competition. Goins finished second and will receive \$30 a month for a year as his prize money.

Bennane finished third and will be paid \$20 a month for the next year.

The three finalists were chosen from a group of state champions in preliminary contests. They were required to drive a tricky course, showing how they would back a truck up to a loading dock, into an alley and winding it forward and backwards between a row of oil drums.

A large crowd of truck operators and drivers witnessed the events and cheered the skillful handling of equipment by Adamski, Goins and Bennane.

The contest was held in an open space adjoining Soldiers' Field along the Chicago lake front. In demonstrating how to back up to a loading dock, the drivers were required to stop their trucks within six

inches of a fence without touching it.

In demonstrating how they would back into an alley, they were required to back between two parallel fences with only a foot clearance on either side. In another test they passed between two poles with only six inches clearance on each side.

In addition to being judged on the skill with which they maneuvered their trucks, the drivers were graded on the speed with which they drove the course.

Adamski drives for George F. Alger of Chicago. He has driven 100,000 miles for the company in five years and has gone two years without an accident.

Goins, who won the 1941 tournament in Madison Square Garden in New York, has been driving 12 years for Trucking, Inc., without an accident. During that time he has traveled 500,000 miles.

Bennane, who also works for Trucking, Inc., has been a truck driver for 21 years and has driven 125,000 miles without an accident.

Among the spectators were a score of state champions who were presented with prizes by the American Trucking Association.

In the tractor semi-trailer event, Don Lyall of Local No. 844 of Fort Dodge, Iowa, finished second.

Lyall drives for the Brady Transfer and Storage Company and in 14 years has traveled 670,000 miles without an accident.

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Its enemies call it "socialized medicine." They go on the theory that if you give a dog a bad name he will soon be starved to death or driven off into the wilderness. Its friends call it a national health program. The idea is that every American should be assured decent medical service, including the services of dentists, oculists and specialists. The well-to-do can meet the necessary charges, but no man who works at any ordinary trade can get what he needs along medical lines without going hopelessly into debt.—*The Chicago Union Leader*.

# Walling Asks Higher Minimum Pay

Would Extend Benefits to 3,500,000 More Workers

**A**DVOCATING upward revision of the Fair Labor Standards act, L. Metcalfe Walling, administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, U. S. Department of Labor, told delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention he favors:

1. Increasing the minimum wage to 65 cents an hour.
2. Extending the benefits of the law to nearly 3,500,000 more workers.
3. Broadening the child labor coverage.
4. Bringing under the minimum wage provisions seamen, who are now denied both the minimum wage and overtime benefits, and excluding the cost of board and lodging from seamen's minimum wages.
5. Eliminating existing exemptions in the agricultural processing and fish handling industries.
6. Giving the administrator power to interpret the act, subject to court revision, so as to provide certainty and uniformity of standards and their application, and to protect employers who cooperate by complying in good faith with the administrator's interpretations.
7. Giving the administrator power to sue to collect back wages for employees.
8. Providing a uniform federal statute of limitations to prevent the cutting off of federal rights by unreasonably short state statutes and to permit a uniform period for recovery of back wages in all parts of the country.

Referring to the present minimum as "pitifully low," Mr. Walling declared:

"It is imperative that the statutory minimum be raised to a level which reflects current price levels and the economic progress made during the last few years.

"In addition, a step forward should be taken by establishing a wage which will more nearly provide for a decent standard of living for America's lowest paid workers.

"Even at 65 cents an hour, a worker could earn only \$1,300 a year for 50 weeks of 40

hours each. On such an income a family of four could buy only three-fourths of the items necessary to maintain itself adequately and decently.

"I don't need to belabor the point to this audience that 40 cents an hour is not a living wage in the United States in 1946, and I think it is worth pointing out to you that even the 65 cent amendment, which was proposed but not voted favorably on by Congress, is inadequate to provide even a decent basic minimum wage standard for the United States.

"It would take nearly 65 cents an hour to equal the inadequate living standards that Congress thought it was legislating back in 1938 when it provided 40 cents an hour."

Maintaining that workers employed in the agricultural processing and fish handling industries can obtain the benefits of the act without ill effects on these industries, Mr. Walling recommended that the exemption from the minimum wage provision for such workers should be eliminated.

He also asked that they be paid overtime, except during the few weeks each year that the industries are subject to seasonal peaks.

Mr. Walling endorsed extension of the child labor provisions of the law to make their coverage coextensive with the general wage and hour provisions.

Under the law, the actual violation does not result from the employment of underage children but from illegal shipment in commerce of goods which were produced in an establishment in or about which oppressive child labor had been employed within 30 days of such shipment.

"This is especially inadequate in such industries as logging and canning, where goods may be withheld for more than 30 days," Mr. Walling said.

"The present prohibition (applying only to establishments producing goods for commerce) is also inadequate because it fails to protect children engaged in commerce.

This means there is no child labor coverage in the telegraph, telephone, railroad and shipping industries."

He urged that coverage be broadened to include workers in activities that "affect interstate commerce" to prevent inequalities between workers in different plants or even in the same plant.

At the present time, the 40 cent minimum and the provision for time and one-half after 40 hours apply only to workers engaged in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for interstate commerce.

"The present basis of coverage creates inequalities among workers and among employers," Mr. Walling explained.

"Workers in two different plants, doing exactly the same kind of work, may not have the same protection from wage cutting and long hours without added compensation because the goods of one are shipped out of the state and the other produces all its goods for intra-state consumption.

"Not only do the workers of the noncovered establishment have less protection under the law, but their employers have a competitive advantage over covered establishments."

The administrator also asked that the act be amended to include a reasonable statute of limitations on claims brought by employees to recover back wages due to them

as a result of failure of their employers to comply with the minimum wage or overtime provisions. He pointed out that because of recent legislation enacted in several states, there is a hodgepodge of law on the subject of such employee suits.

"Certainly the rights of an employee to recover wages to which he is entitled under a federal statute should not be determined by an accident of geography," he said.

"A great many people have advised me not to risk exposing the Fair Labor Standards Act to the perils of a legislative fight. A great many seasoned observers, including some of those in Congress who would have to carry the ball for us, thought it was hazardous in the extreme, that the law might be emasculated, if not entirely repealed.

"After giving that very careful consideration, I decided on a different course and I have no regrets. I don't feel in these matters that one can stand still, he must either move forward or backward.

"I thought our case was so strong that we could stand on it before the American people, and it was therefore gratifying to me to find that not one member of Congress, one representative or one senator stood on his feet and said 40 cents an hour was enough in 1946 for Americans to live on. That is a great victory for every American working man and woman."

## Workers' Education is Key to Progress

Our world has grown more and more complex, but the worker who played such a large part in creating it still understands too little of what it is all about. However, the organized worker is determined that the world of tomorrow shall be one of peace and security.

He recognizes that if this is to be, he and his fellow unionists must play a much more active role than they have in the past. How can they do so, with greatest benefit to themselves and to their neighbors locally, nationally and internationally? A better understanding of the problems involved is essential—and that is where workers' education comes in.

What is workers' education? It is based on the needs and desires of industrial workers both as workers and as citizens in our modern machine world. Workers' education begins with the job and seeks to aid the worker in understanding not only that job and the problems of living related to it, but also his relationships in the local community and in the larger world community as well.

It emphasizes the study of group problems and their solution through group action. It is inextricably linked with the labor movement of which it is a part and upon which it relies for support.—*The Milk Distributor*, Local No. 753, Chicago.

# AFL Scores National Labor Board

## Executive Council Report Cites Western Cannery Case

**A**N ILLUSTRATION of unfairness toward the AFL in the recent controversy over Pacific Coast canneries was given by the AFL executive council in its report exposing the practices of the National Labor Relations Board. The report recites the back-

ground of the dispute in which the Teamsters were given jurisdiction over canneries by the AFL. The CIO immediately began raiding the canneries, with the cooperation of the board.

The report follows:

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In past executive council reports it has been pointed out how the National Labor Relations act has been administered to foster the interest of rival unions to the prejudice of the American Federation of Labor. Much of this favoritism for rival unions continues in the administration of the act, particularly in the regional offices of the board.

But the board itself is not without responsibility. It has in several important instances sustained the recommendation of its regional offices, thereby upholding and giving aid and comfort to the vicious raiding policies of rival unions.

A recent example of how efforts are made by the employees in the regional offices of the board to advance the interests of rival unions at the expense of the AFL and how the board itself came to the support of its regional office employees, is the recent so called Cannery Companies case.

For a long number of years AFL federal labor unions have been the bargaining representatives of the employees of the canneries on the West Coast and the AFL has enjoyed closed shop contracts with these canneries.

In harmony with AFL policy these unions were placed under the management of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

On the basis of this transfer to the Teamsters the rival union conducted a raiding campaign on the membership of the AFL in these canneries. During the off season of the year when the great majority of the employees were laid off, the rival union pounced

down upon the small number of workers then employed and filed a petition for certification.

There was a lack of a proper showing on the part of the rival union for the institution of a representative case, yet the regional director of the National Labor Relations Board hastily procured a hearing and an election for the rival union so as to time the election to suit the interests of the rival union, even though to hold an election at that time was an unlawful denial to the great majority of regular cannery employees of a voice in the choice of bargaining representatives.

A protest against this conduct was filed by the AFL. The irregularities in conducting this election were so flagrant that the election was set aside.

However, the National Labor Relations Board, in setting aside the election, arbitrarily and unfairly attempted to terminate the perfectly lawful closed shop provision of the contract between the AFL unions and the canners.

When the AFL union, the Teamsters' union, refused to permit the closed shop contract to be set aside without a finding by the board of illegality or even so much as a hearing that the closed shop provision of the contract was unlawful under the act, the National Labor Relations Board proceeded to bring contempt proceedings against a number of canneries on an old disconnected order of six years ago.

These contempt proceedings were dismissed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. Nevertheless, the board is continuing to harass the AFL and the Team-

sters in pending proceedings before it. This practice of the National Labor Relations Board to encourage rival unions to raid established AFL unions and to aid and abet the rivals in their attempts to destroy established AFL unions causes disruption in this industry and thwarts the processes of collective bargaining, all of which is contrary to the basic purposes of the National Labor Relations act. The practice is most unfair and ought to stop.

Although the AFL has received somewhat more fair treatment under the new chairman of the National Labor Relations Board than it has experienced in the past, there remains much room for improvement. There are a number of holdovers among the staff of the National Labor Relations Board who are

definitely and clearly anti AFL. Also, some of the policies in the administration of the National Labor Relations act, adopted in years gone by, which are very prejudicial to the interest of the AFL, remain in effect.

The AFL is aware that it will take time for the new chairman of the board to weed out anti AFL employees of the board and to bring about their replacement with unbiased persons. It is to be hoped that this will be accomplished in the near future.

Those policies of the board which are so glaringly biased and detrimental to the interests of the AFL must be abandoned under the new board in order that there can be a fair and equitable administration of the act which will carry out its purposes as they were originally intended by Congress.

## Eight More Teamsters Reported Killed in War

Eight more war deaths reported last month bring the grand total of gold stars on the Teamster battle flag to 549.

Four of them were reported by Secretary-Treasurer W. B. Pruett of Local No. 310, Tucson, Ariz., increasing the losses of this local to six.

The latest deaths reported are:

JEAN DESMARAIS, Local No. 49, Lowell, Mass. He was killed in line of duty, according to Secretary-Treasurer F. Philip McCarron, but no further details are available. He was the third member of Local No. 49 to sacrifice his life during the war.

CURTIS JONES, Local No. 787, Albany, N. Y. An employee of the Diamond Rock Creamery in Troy, N. Y., Brother Jones was killed by the Germans in Belgium in November, 1944, according to Secretary-Treasurer Louis J. Russo. He was the fourth Local No. 787 man to die in service.

ELMER J. SWIS, Local No. 850, Cincinnati. He lost his life when his LSM was sunk in a typhoon off Okinawa, according to

information from his brother, Bernard Swis.

VIRGIL SCOTT, Local No. 310, Tucson, Ariz. Killed in action by the Japs in October, 1944.

JAMES M. PARMER, Local No. 310, Tucson, Ariz. Killed by the Japs in the Philippines on May 12, 1945.

TED BOZARTH, Local No. 310, Tucson, Ariz. Killed in the South Pacific in March, 1945.

LEON MITCHELL, Local No. 310, Tucson, Ariz. Killed on Okinawa in June, 1945.

WILLIAM G. LOEW, Local No. 485, Pittsburgh. Killed by the Germans in Luxembourg on January 23, 1945. The death was reported by Secretary-Treasurer William H. Tappe. He was the 10th member of Local No. 485 to be lost in service.

All local secretaries who have not reported their war deaths are asked to do so as soon as possible so that the International may know exactly how many men we lost in the war and their names.

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The principal battlefield for labor during the next few years will be the halls of Congress and the several state legislatures. Only if the forces of labor are united can one hope to fight successfully in the political field.—*New Jersey Labor Herald*.



*From the Federated Press*

CHICAGO—The long roster of speakers scheduled to address the 65th AFL convention here did not include Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach. This is the first major labor convention in many years to ignore the holder of the labor cabinet post.

WASHINGTON—The American people face an acute threat of an inflationary boom followed by a disastrous depression bust unless the government and the entire nation exercise "statesmanship of a very high order," Reconversion Director John R. Steelman reported October 3 to President Truman and Congress.

LAWRENCEBURG, TENN.—History was made in a small Tennessee courtroom here on October 5 when an all-white jury of 12 southerners freed 23 among 25 Negroes of murder charges pinned on them by lynch-minded county officials.

TAMPA, FLA.—An AFL drive to organize Tampa service workers was under way as International Representative John L. Burke of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and two organizers for the Laundry Workers' International Union arrived to spur the campaign.

WASHINGTON—The recent rash of strikes since V-J Day has by no means been caused by the Wagner act, NLRB Chairman Paul Herzog said October 4 in a lecture prepared for the Institute of Industrial Relations at Holy Cross College.

CHICAGO—Resolutions condemning the issuance of year books by central labor bodies, state federations and union label councils as illegitimate vehicles for the collection of advertising revenue were adopted by the Eastern Labor Press Conference here October 5.

DES MOINES, IA.—Pointing out that the same monopoly forces are at work to wreck the peace and to drive small farmers to ruin, the 30th convention of the Iowa Farmers' Union here urged the promotion of farmer-labor unity and cooperation against the common enemy.

WASHINGTON—The New Council of American Business, pre-price control small business group, wired Congressman Estes Kefauver of Tennessee October 14 urging rescheduling of cancelled House committee hearings to probe monopoly encroachment on free enterprise.

CHICAGO—A Midwest delegation visited New York on the convening of the United Nations assembly October 23 to urge that diplomatic and commercial relations with Franco Spain be broken.

WASHINGTON—An FBI spokesman October 7 confirmed to Federated Press reports that the sleuthing agency is planning to expand its present staff of 7,600 in order to check on the background of persons to be hired by the Atomic Control Commission.

SAN FRANCISCO—Leona Graves and Beulah Gibbons, organizers for the Department Store Employees' Union (AFL), have sued Raphael Weill & Co. for \$60,000 damages for "nervous shock, anguish, humiliation and disgrace" resulting from eviction from the store while they were "pursuing their lawful business" of organizing employees.

ATLANTA, GA.—Forty-eight citizens of Macon have come here in recent days to join the Ku Klux Klan with the avowed intention of using the secret, hooded organization to terrorize labor's Operation Dixie, Federated Press learned October 9.

WASHINGTON—The same Fascism "that was fabricated in Italy and finished in Germany is now being peddled in America, on a grand scale, by some of our nicest

people," Congressman Wright Patman of Texas charged October 6 in an interview over radio station WINX here.

CHICAGO—Warning that there has been a "terrific revival of reactionary elements" in the United States, Attorney General Tom Clark told the 65th AFL convention here October 11 that labor must maintain the greatest vigilance to safeguard its material and social advances.

TRENTON, N. J.—Ku Klux Klaners in New Jersey will have to put their bedsheets away in mothballs. Outlawing of the terrorist organization was ordered here October 10 by Supreme Court Justice A. Dayton Oliphant after testimony from State Attorney General Walter D. Van Riper that the KKK's objectives were "improper" and that it had been linked with the German-American Bund.

CHICAGO—A British appeal for the AFL to join the World Federation of Trade Unions drew a sharp rebuttal from President William Green, who at the same time roundly denounced British policy in Palestine before the 65th AFL convention here October 10.

WASHINGTON—Former Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace will continue to take an active part in public affairs by becoming editor in chief of the liberal weekly magazine *New Republic*, it was announced here October 14.

ATLANTA, GA.—The Ku Klux Klan is planning a third party to create labor dissension. The plans became known here October 2 when Georgia's Assistant Attorney General Daniel Duke revealed he had received reports that the Klan has already held discussions in Georgia and South Carolina to set such a party in motion.

WASHINGTON—The filing of criminal charges by the Department of Justice against Lynwood L. Shull, chief of police in Batesburg, S. C., is a significant event, for it marks the first important step taken by the federal government to protect the rights of American citizens against a terror wave. Chief Shull is accused of having blinded Isaac Woodard, Jr., a Negro war veteran. Woodard was dragged from the bus on which he was riding home and beaten in the eyes with the butt of the policeman's pistol.

MINNEAPOLIS—Plans to replace the National Federation of Telephone Workers, which has only advisory power over its 47 component independent unions, with a tight national organization are under study here. A special convention in Denver November 4-16 will act on the proposal for a new consolidated union.

WASHINGTON—In the Mt. Clemens Pottery case the U. S. Supreme Court held that time spent in walking to work on the employer's premises after punching in was time worked under the wage-hour law. Look for more claims of this kind when union contracts expire, particularly in establishments which cover much ground, such as steel and auto plants and logging and sawmill operations.

BURBANK, CALIF.—Walter Winchell, the man who knows the inside story of everything and tells all to millions of radio listeners via the Jergens Journal, is keeping it a dead secret, but members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters who have been on strike for eight months at the local plant of his sponsors are letting the country know that the world famed "liberal" commentator is being backed by a company which could give even S. L. Avery a few lessons in union busting.

WASHINGTON—Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug said October 16 that the bituminous coal mines now operated by the government would not be turned back to their owners until a uniform contract for the industry had been worked out with the United Mine Workers.

CHICAGO—After setting up machinery to ease jurisdictional strife in Hollywood, delegates to the AFL convention here October 15 heard film actor Edward Arnold, member of the Screen Actors' Guild executive board, say his union wanted the quarrel between studio groups settled as a family quarrel within the federation.

WASHINGTON—The night of October 15, as 11 top Nazi war conspirators went to death in Nuernberg, American Prosecutor Robert H. Jackson warned President Truman that the work of punishing war criminals was far from complete.

# Hostile Legislation to be Revived

Congressmen Promise to Hit Labor Again After Election

By JOSEPH A. PADWAY,  
General Counsel, International Brotherhood of Teamsters

NEVER before in the history of this nation has any Congress considered so many antilabor bills. It would indeed be most interesting to discuss many of them, but that is impossible. Some, however, proved more vicious than others. For instance, among them were:

1. The Ahrens bill which sought to repeal the Smith-Connally act and substitute a new bill containing many worse features than the Smith-Connally act.
2. The much discussed Hatch-Ball-Burton bill.
3. The wicked Hobbs bill.
4. The Norton antilabor bill.
5. The Case bill.
6. The Lea bill.
7. The President's emergency draft bill.

I cannot discuss in detail even these bills, but two or three are of such vital importance to labor that I shall endeavor to explain the effect of these upon the labor movement.

Regardless of the fact that some of these bills were defeated, they are still of great concern to labor, for each and every day congressmen opposed to labor have, through the press and speeches, announced their intention to reintroduce these bills in the next Congress. Likewise, many state legislatures will meet in January, and you can expect these and similar bills to be introduced in the state legislatures. It behooves us, therefore, to thoroughly understand the import of these measures and to be on the alert respecting them.

The Ahrens bill seeks to repeal the Smith-Connally act. As organized labor well knows, the Smith-Connally act was intended as a wilful and malicious insult to labor. That was vigorously pointed out by President Roosevelt when he vetoed the bill. It was premised on the false implication that labor was unpatriotic and had to be compelled by law to work during wartime.

The sponsors of the bill have since admitted that it was unnecessary and useless; these same sponsors introduced another bill to repeal the Smith-Connally act. But even after realizing that the original bill was contrary to the best interests of the nation, they wanted to use the repealer as a vehicle for the passage of a substitute which, though dealing with other subjects, was equally wicked, unjust and intended to hamstring labor.

The repeal bill provides, among other things, that unions shall be responsible for alleged breaches of contract. Much has been said about union responsibility and union liability for breach of agreement.

There is a distinction between union responsibility and union liability. It is the responsibility of a union to make all endeavor to see that its members live up to the agreement that the union has made on behalf of the members. Unions are the agents of their membership in negotiating and concluding collective bargaining agreements. The membership constitutes the "principal" in the transaction.

The collective bargaining agreement differs from other agreements. So long as the workers are members of the union and in the employ of the employer with whom the contract is made it is their duty to honor the contract and not violate it. But the employees may leave and others may take their place, which gives the contract a peculiar and different status.

Regardless of the legal liabilities for breach, the Ahrens bill provided some unique penalties. For instance, if the union breached its agreement, it lost its status as a bargaining agent. In other words, the union was practically out of business; and this was in addition to the liability for money damages on account of the breach. The employer suffered no similar loss of

business; he would merely be liable for damages, but he did not lose his business.

Then the provision was so worded that not only would damages accrue to the particular employer with whom the union had the agreement in event of breach, but any other persons who, indirectly might have suffered damage by virtue of the breach could likewise recover damages.

Thus, an endless chain of suits for claims and damages could be imposed upon the union, with the inevitable result that the union would thereby be wrecked. The bill also contains a clause prohibiting political contributions on the part of unions. This clause is so broad that unions could very well be prohibited from endeavoring to prevent the election of congressmen or other federal officials who were responsible for bills which would destroy and outlaw labor unions. All in all, it was a bad bill, and we may be gratified that it died with the adjournment of Congress.

Much has been said and written concerning the Hatch-Ball-Burton bill. One fine morning the people of the country awoke to newspaper headlines informing the nation that Senators Hatch, Ball and Burton had sponsored a bill dealing with industrial relations. A mere hasty reading of the bill caused great alarm, particularly among the workers.

The bill was supposed to be the product of an impartial study made by a committee of experts. On investigation it was found that the persons who composed the committee were far from impartial individuals. Some were, but the majority had special clients and interests whom they were serving.

Donald Richberg, who claimed to be the chief advisor on draftsmanship and policy, is known to be the attorney for many large corporations. True, he was also counsel for some of the railroad unions at one time, but his major connections are with large industry. It is a complex bill consisting of 59 printed pages. It would be impossible to discuss it in detail. It contains many of the bad provisions which have been included in state enactments. Some of the outstanding bad features of the bill were "compulsory

arbitration" of labor disputes and the establishment of "cooling off" periods of long duration before workers could quit work or strike over grievances.

The bill was so bad that, as I am informed, several of Mr. Richberg's industrial clients opposed it, as did other large industrialists and their lawyers. Certainly, they did not want compulsory arbitration. As a result of this pressure, Senators Hatch and Ball introduced a new Hatch-Ball bill eliminating those features which may have proved detrimental to industry, but retained all the bad features affecting labor.

The Hobbs bill has plagued labor for over four years. Congressman Hobbs kept on introducing and revising this bill until it was passed by the last Congress. The first draft of the bill was extremely vicious and would have made criminal many lawful and peaceful practices engaged in by labor in furtherance of legitimate labor disputes.

Hobbs and the sponsors of the bill claimed that it sought to make robbery and extortion, when committed in interstate commerce, criminal acts. One must inquire why it was necessary to have a federal law respecting robbery and extortion when every state in the Union has statutes making robbery and extortion crimes.

The malice inherent in the bill is manifest when the debates showed conclusively that it was intended to apply only to labor, and that it was an amendment to the so-called antiracketeering act.

The malice behind the bill is further emphasized by the fact that the crimes as defined are made felonies, with penalties for violation of the law consisting of imprisonment up to 20 years, a fine of \$10,000, and both may be imposed in the discretion of the judge.

Labor has never condoned robbery and extortion, but it is quite clear from the activities and statements of those who sponsored this bill that their real purpose is to hamstring lawful activities on the part of labor when it is engaged in labor disputes. This bill also makes certain classes of assaults, which ordinarily are disposed of in police courts with a \$5 fine, to constitute felonies with the same penalties I have

referred to. Here again, every state has laws against fraud, force or violence, and in that respect the bill is wholly unnecessary.

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliates sought to defeat this measure and were able for four years to prevent its passage. But on a certain day, when there were very few senators present in the Senate and a lull had taken place, and the friends of labor were not present, the bill was called up and passed.

Fortunately for labor, during the pendency of the bill, the American Federation of Labor had prepared an amendment, which had previously been made part of the bill. This amendment, to quite a degree, lessened the harmfulness of the bill. The amendment provided, among other things, that all protective rights as found in the Railway Labor act, the Norris-LaGuardia act, the Antitrust act and the National Labor Relations act are preserved to labor.

The President, in signing the bill, submitted an explanatory statement, quoting the attorney general to the effect that the bill as amended would not deprive labor of its previous and existing legitimate rights in furtherance of labor disputes.

This construction will, to quite a degree, prevent courts from perverting the law so as to deprive workers of rights which the original Hobbs bill sought to take away from them. But even in its amended form the Hobbs bill is a bad bill.

The Norton antilabor bill was a keen disappointment to labor because it had the backing of the President. Never was a President more imposed upon than was Mr. Truman when he was induced to sponsor a bill of this sort. It might be well to relate a little of the history which caused the President to suggest a bill of this kind.

In November, 1945, the President called, and there was held in Washington, a management-labor conference. It lasted about three weeks. Its purpose was to bring about an agreement between management and labor on certain fundamental principles which would eliminate labor strife.

The conference was not an entire success; it was productive of some good, but not as much as the President expected. As advisors

to the conference there were several professors who felt that one of the best means of eliminating labor strife would be to set up fact finding boards in labor disputes.

It is my opinion that these professors were the most potent force in selling the President on the idea of so-called "fact finding boards." Much can be said pro and con with respect to fact finding boards if confined only to fact finding as an aid to the settlement of labor disputes. However, what was proposed to go with the fact finding when the actual bill was presented made of it an entirely different thing.

Those who framed the Norton bill actually adopted some of the major objectionable principles which were included in the Hatch-Ball-Burton bill.

Two of the most destructive principles of labor's rights which were found in the Hatch-Ball-Burton bill were the provisions for "cooling off" periods, and virtual repeal of the Norris-LaGuardia act so as to reinvest the courts with the right to issue injunctions in labor disputes, thus bringing back the evil of "government by injunction."

While the bill confined the fact finding boards to disputes involving the national public interest, there was no definition of this term, and numerous disputes, some of an inconsequential nature, could very well be designated as involving public interest. Once a dispute was so designated, and referred to a board, workers were deprived of the right to strike for 30 days. This is the so-called "cooling off" period, but whether it is designated "cooling off" or given some other term or designation it amounts to the same thing, and that is, involuntary servitude. Its effect would be to compel employees to work against their will for a period of at least 30 days.

Now, involuntary servitude is prohibited by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It does not matter whether one is compelled to work against his will for 30 days, 30 hours, 30 minutes, or 30 seconds—it is still involuntary servitude. It is a violation of the constitutional guarantee against slavery, just as it would be a violation of the guarantee of freedom of the press if a newspaper were

shut down for 30 days or for any lesser period.

Likewise, the provision played into the hands of employers in that many disputes over wages, hours and working conditions would be won by the employer if his employees were compelled to continue working for 30 days. Many jobs over which there were disputes could be completed in that time. In limited construction jobs, in the canning industry, in the making of masters for musical records, thirty days is all that would be required to complete a project.

One of the almost tragic consequences of the Norton bill was that it brought about the introduction in Congress of the Case bill. The reactionaries on the labor committee which reported out the Norton bill did not like it, so they secretly prepared what later became known as the Case bill, which contained not only the worst provisions of the Norton bill but other detrimental provisions which had for their object the nullification of labor's fundamental rights.

By parliamentary maneuvers when the bill came before the House for consideration, Congressman Case offered a substitute which was accepted and passed by the House and then messaged to the Senate. It was held there for some time. Although hearings were not held before the House committee on the Case bill, hearings were held in the Senate. At a propitious moment when, psychologically, the Senate was in a mean frame of mind toward labor, it was brought up for consideration and passed. President Truman vetoed the bill and accompanied his veto with a very strong message.

We may think that the Case bill is past history. It is past history insofar as the last session of Congress is concerned, but the Case bill will rear its ugly head again in the next session of Congress. It is, therefore, well to understand its implications. Among other things, it provided for a sixty-day cooling off period in all so-called major disputes.

If provided for fact finding boards in public utility controversies. It made unions liable for damages for breach of contract. It outlawed foremen's unions and deprived

foremen and supervisory employees of the protections of the National Labor Relations act. It outlawed secondary boycotts and defined these boycotts in such a manner that many so-called primary boycotts were included in the prohibition. It made unions liable under the antitrust laws.

One significant feature of the Case bill as finally passed indicated what would be done with so-called cooling off periods. Whereas the first Case bill as originally introduced called for a 30-day cooling off period, the amended one as passed provided for a 60-day cooling off period. By this provision collective bargaining would be destroyed, for, why should an employer bargain in good faith with workers with whom he is in dispute if he has 60 days in which to complete his job?

While the Norton bill did not provide criminal penalties, the Case bill did provide criminal penalties with respect to the violations of some of the provisions in the bill. For instance, it included in its entirety the obnoxious Hobbs bill with penalties of 20 years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine for violation.

Many persons are of the opinion that the Lea bill affects only musicians. This is not true. But even if it were, it is a most wicked precedent which can be easily adapted to every trade, craft and calling, and thus subject all workers to similar provisions. But the truth is, it does affect all crafts and all workers engaged in the broadcasting industry, whether they be musicians, Teamsters, carpenters, electricians or laborers.

The Lea bill is an out-and-out antistrike bill. By that I mean it makes the mere act of striking in furtherance of a legitimate demand a crime. It is a bill that makes the peaceful activity of a worker either lawful or criminal at the desire, whim or caprice of his employer.

The broadcasting industry has a substantial grip upon many members of Congress. The industry and those engaged in it are as powerful today as the railroad and lumber barons were 75 to 100 years ago. Unless those who own and control this fabulous money making industry are curbed in their

unbridled activities, not only will a free labor movement be destroyed in the broadcasting industry, but in many other industries as well.

Finally, I desire to conclude with an observation or two on the President's emergency bill. On May 24th the country was involved in a great railroad strike. On that night President Truman made a speech over the radio in which he condemned the strike and its leaders and stated that he would appear before Congress on the next day.

He did appear before Congress and, among other things, proposed a most drastic law involving the rights of labor and requested immediate passage of legislation to conform with his suggestions.

Among other things, the bill provided for the seizure of plants, mines and facilities in which interruption was threatened by labor disputes and which industries were essential to the maintenance of the national welfare. In addition to the seizure of such plants, the bill definitely made striking in these circumstances illegal.

Insofar as labor is concerned, the most important provisions in the bill related to the prohibition against striking and the penalties imposed for violation of the law. For instance, the bill commanded officers and members of unions who were on strike to call off the strike, or suffer a penalty of one year in jail or \$5,000 fine, or both.

Further penalties imposed upon employees were loss of status under the National Labor Relations act and the loss of

seniority rights. It empowered the attorney general to apply for an injunction to restrain employees from violating the law and to compel them to return to work in the event they had been out on strike.

There were other provisions which imposed penalties upon employers who were guilty of violation, such as the diversion of profits to the government from the operation of an industry which had been seized by the government. Although the act was termed an "emergency act" and was to operate only to June 10, 1947, it was dangerous indeed.

What I said concerning the implications in the Norton bill is applicable with equal force to the President's Emergency bill. Here again the denial of constitutional rights, regardless of whether it be for 30 days or 30 hours, is to that extent an invasion of the constitution and a deprivation of lawful rights. Then again, this bill reestablished government by injunction because courts, at the behest of the attorney general, were especially empowered to issue injunctive decrees. As with the Norton bill, I believe the President was badly advised and imposed upon.

I hope that the future holds more promise for labor than we found during the term of the last Congress. Congress must realize that the great multitude of workers, too, are interested in a happier nation and a happier world, and that cannot be accomplished through the enactment of undemocratic and unconstitutional laws such as I have discussed.

## Benefits of Union Dues Ignored by Critics

Union dues have long been used as one of the best "sales arguments" either to keep working men and women from joining a labor union or to induce them to leave the union if they have joined.

Within recent months there have been an unusual number of articles written by self-appointed "friends of the workers" to show how expensive membership in a labor union is. In these articles, of course, there is no mention made of the benefits which flow from union membership; that would have been impartial.

No attempt is made in these anti-union diatribes to describe the necessary, day-to-day expenses which every union must meet if its members are to obtain the full benefits of trade unionism. While it may be true that these propagandists know very little if anything about the operation of trade unions, their ignorance does not prevent them from writing.

Absence of knowledge only aids them more effectively in their opposition to the organization of labor.

—*Cigar Makers' Journal.*

## Morgan's 'Safe Driving' Record

IS THE Morgan Packing Company of Austin, Ind., a heavy contributor to the National Safety Council? If so, is it the policy of the National Safety Council to propagandize the public in favor of its contributors?

These are fair questions in view of the 1946 edition of *Accident Facts*, the publication of the National Safety Council. This publication puts the Morgan Packing Company at the top of its "all-time, no accident" list, claiming that Morgan trucks drove 4,103,308 miles without an accident causing "death, injury or property damage."

This same claim appeared in *Collier's* magazine in November, 1942. We immediately wired *Collier's* for the source of its information and were told that it came from the National Safety Council in Chicago.

We then telephoned the National Safety Council to determine where it obtained its information. We were informed that the information was not statistical data compiled by the council but was merely a report from the company itself.

In other words, Morgan merely claimed it had driven 4,103,308 miles without an accident and the National Safety Council accepted and publicized its figures.

We then read to the National Safety Council a report from the Hadley-Mahoney Insurance Agency of Indianapolis listing 230 accidents involving Morgan trucks between November 11, 1940, and October 17, 1941.

The National Safety Council explained that the period covered by its report was for the six months ending in August, 1938.

It said it would investigate the record of the Morgan company and agreed with us that in view of the huge number of Morgan accidents, the company was not entitled to be cited as a glowing example of safe driving.

Now, in 1946, the National Safety Council repeats the same fable it circulated in 1942. Again we telephoned the council, asking what period of time the report covered.

We were told that it was for 1941! Four years ago the council said it was for 1938. We again challenged the statement of the National Safety Council, referring it to the report of the insurance agency covering most of 1941 and proving it to be a year of death and destruction on the highways of 22 states traversed by Morgan trucks.

The insurance company branded Morgan drivers as careless and incompetent. The National Safety Council extolls them as experts. What goes on?

Maybe the answer lies in the 1946 edition of *Accident Facts*, which states that the National Safety Council "is financed through membership dues and public subscriptions."

How about giving us some statistics on that? And we hope they will be more reliable than the safe-driving "statistics" put out by the National Safety Council.

The Morgan company is a scab outfit. Is that why it rates so high with the National Safety Council?

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